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Harvey Fenton

The Finlayson Memorial Lecture.

THE SCHOLA SALERNITANA

ITS HISTORY AND THE DATE OF ITS
INTRODUCTION INTO THE BRITISH ISLES.

BY

NORMAN MOORE, M.D.,

FELLOW OF THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS OF LONDON; PHYSICIAN
TO ST. BARTHolemew's HOSPITAL.

DELIVERED AT GLASGOW ON 26th FEBRUARY, 1908.

GLASGOW:

PRINTED BY ALEX. MACDOUGALL, 68 MITCHELL STREET.

1908.

With the lecturer's kind regards.

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THE SCHOLA SALERNITANA:

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BEING THE FINLAYSON MEMORIAL LECTURE.

BY NORMAN MOORE, M.D.,

Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of London; Physician to
St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

THE foundation of a lecture in Glasgow, of which the subject should on certain occasions belong to the history of medicine, was a happy method of commemorating the studies and the tastes of Dr. James Finlayson.¹ In this city, where he was born and received his education, where he practised his profession, rose to distinction, and died, his character and the events of his honourable career are too well known for it to be necessary for me to dwell upon them before you.

His most valuable historical work is, in my opinion, the *Account of the Life and Workes of Maister Peter Lowe*, in which he has set forth all that can be gathered from numerous

¹ He was born 22nd November, 1840, and died 9th October, 1906.

sources about the founder of your Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons, that amiable surgeon to the King of France and Navarre—

“Who cured many while he lieved,
Soe gracious he noe man grieved,
Yea, when his physicks force oft failed,
His pleasant purpose then prevailed.”

The fragmentary records of Peter Lowe's life, his attainments, the nature of his practice, the contents and the several editions of his works, are set forth with very great care in this interesting book.

Dr. Finlayson gave several lectures on medical authors, under the title of bibliographical demonstrations. One was upon Herophilus, with whose torcular we all became acquainted at an early period of our medical studies, and another was on Galen.

It seems, therefore, appropriate in delivering the first lecture of a series intended to commemorate his work, to follow his example, and to choose as a subject the history, or part of the history, of a medical book rather than the history of any particular section of medical knowledge.

I suppose every man who has lived at all in what Burke calls the world of books feels a personal kindness for those books which he has known long, and which he has taken up again and again with pleasure. They become his friends, mixed up with a thousand associations of his life, and often recalling human friends, their voices, their aspect, their thoughts, their surroundings.

The Schola Salernitana, or *Regimen Sanitatis Salerni*, is one of the books for which I feel this friendship. I first saw it in my boyhood at Walton Hall in Yorkshire, the house of Charles Waterton, the naturalist, where an edition of 1559, printed at Maintz, stood in his room upon a rough wooden shelf beside a quarto Spanish *Don Quixote*. The furniture of the room consisted chiefly of old cabinets and chests of drawers filled with the skins of toucans, houtous, tanagers, and other birds of Demerara. Over the fire on the wall was pasted an early map of Guiana, with the fabulous Lake Parima marked very large in the middle of it. Near the window hung an old sword, which was last worn by Waterton's grandfather when he left the house to join the forces of Prince Charles Edward in 1745. The floor was bare, and Waterton slept on it every night, wrapped up in a great Spanish cloak, and with his venerable white head resting

upon a block of oak. He read a chapter of *Don Quixote* every morning early as soon as he had finished his devotions, and the Schola Salernitana which stood beside it he had read so often that he knew the greater part of it by heart, and as we walked together in his park, or sat under its trees in warm weather, or by outdoor fires in cold, he would often quote its verses to me and comment upon them. Thus began my acquaintance with the book.

It is a collection of opinions or dicta on the preservation of health, on the uses of herbs, and on the remedies for some diseases, so that it discusses what in modern phrase we should call regimen or hygiene, diet, *materia medica*, and therapeutics. A few examples will at once show you the way in which its subjects are treated.

Thus, the aphorism upon "Supper" is—

"Ex magna coena stomacho fit maxima poena,
Ut sis nocte levis, sit tibi coena brevis,"

as an old English version renders it—

"Great suppers do the stomach much offend,
Sup light if quyet you to sleepe intend."

The remarks on *materia medica* are well illustrated by the passage on the herb "Sage"—

"Cur moriatur homo, cui Salvia crescit in horto ?
Contra vim mortis non est medicamen in hortis.
Salvia confortat nervos, manuumque tremorem
Tollit, et ejus ope febris acuta fugit
Salvia castoreumque lavendula, primula veris,
Nasturtium, Athanasia, haec sanant paralytica membra,
Salvia salvatrix, naturae conciliatrix."

The same old English version loses some of the terseness of the Latin—

"But who can write thy worth (O, soveraigne Sage).
Some ask how men can die where thou dost grow.
Oh ! that there were a Medicine curing age,
Death comes at last, tho' death come nere so slow :
Sage strengthens the sinews, Feauers heat doth swage,
The palsie helpes, and rids of mickle woe,
In Latin, Salvia takes the name of Safety,
In English, Sage is rather wise than crafty :
Sith then the name betokens wise and saving,
We count it nature's friend and worth the having."

A commentator, whose work was translated into English in Tudor times,¹ expresses the sense somewhat better:—

“Here thauctour touchyng principally four thynge sheweth the greate utilite of sage askynge as though he doubted: wherfore man dyethe, that hath sage growing in his gardeyne. He answereth in the second verse that no medycyne growyng on the gardeyne can withstande deth, all though in the gardeyne growe medycynes that kepe the body from putrifaction and defende that natural humidite be not lyghtly consumed awaye.

“Secondly, he putteth three effectes of sage. The fyrste is, that sage conforteth the senowes for it dryeth the humidities by which the senowes be let and leused.

“The second is that it takethe awaye the shakynge of the handes by reason that it confortethe the senowes, as is sayde, nowe all thinge that conforteth ye senowes remoueth tremblynge. For tremblyng cometh of febleness of the senowes. And therfore some old men and women specially put sage leaues in their meate and drynke. Thyrdlye, sage letteth the sharpe ague to assayle us by reason that it dryethe humours, it lettethe them to putrifie, wherby a sharp feuer myghte be engendred.

“Thyrdelye thauctor reherseth six medecines good for the palsey. It is sayd that sage, castorie, Lauander, Prymerose, Wattercresse, and Tanseye cure and heale membres enfect wyth palseye.

“In the ende of the texte thauctour sayth sage is called the sauor and keper of nature.”

The section on “Headache” is an example of the therapeutic parts of the book—

“Si capit is dolor est ex potu lympha bibatur :
Ex potu nimio nam febris acuta creatur.
Si vertex capit is, vel frons aestu tribulentur,
Tempora fronsque simul moderate saepe fricentur,
Morella cocta nec non calidaque laventur,
Istud enim credunt capit is prodesse dolori.”

The same commentator in his sixteenth century English version says of this passage—

“Here thauctour notyng two thynge sayeth that if the headache come by to much drynkyng and specially of wyne, or of any other drynke, that maketh folkes dronken, one must drynke cold water upon it, the whiche with the

¹ Imprinted at London, in Paules churcheyard at the sygne of the Lambe by Abraham Vele, Anno Domini, M.D.LVII.

coldenesse thereof ingrosseth the fumes that are lyfted up and lette the them to hurte the brayne. The second thyng is, that if the toppe of the head or forehead be greued with to much heate, than the tempuls should be moderately chafed, and after washed with warme water, in the which mother worte is sodde, for mother worte is colde and coleth."

You have observed that these passages are in verse, and so is the whole book. The lines are generally hexameters, and their rhythm is further sustained by terminal or median rhymes, and by occasional assonance, so that they show considerable variety.

Thus, the lines on the dietetic qualities of the viscera of animals are without any rhyme—

"Egeritur tarde cor, concoquitur quoque dure
Sic quoque ventriculus, tamen exteriora probantur
Reddit lingua bonum nutrimentum medicina
Concoctu facilis pulmo est, cito labitur ipse
Est melius cerebrum galline, quam reliquorum."

The heart and the stomach are difficult of digestion; the tongue is wholesome and the lung easy of digestion. The brain of fowls is better than that of other creatures.

And sometimes the rhymes are two in each line, as in the verses on "Pease"—

"Pisuni laudandum nunc sumpsimus, ac reprobandum.
Est inflativum cum pellibus, atque nocivuu,
Pellibus ablatis, sunt bona pisa satis;

which three lines tell little more than that peas ought to be shelled.

It is hardly necessary to point out that in mediæval poems a rigid attention to the quantity of syllables is not to be expected.

The enormous increase of books due to the printing press has led to the notion that prose is the only form appropriate to the conveyance of positive knowledge, and to the belief that verse is a method of expression only suited for things of emotion or of fancy. It is easy to see that a different idea prevailed in former times.

The object of Lucretius was to set forth the natural science of Epicurus, including his explanation of the human soul. The feeling of our time would be to use verse, as Lucretius does, to make men feel that the fear of death is unreasonable, but not to use it as he does to elaborate an atomic theory or a cosmology. The poet thought verse appropriate to both as the most impressive of all forms of human expression.

Other writers chose verse because they were full of a particular subject, and desired to set it forth so that others should dwell upon the series of facts which had delighted them, with which they were familiar, and the arrangement of which they had long turned over in their minds. They are perfect in the subject, and adorn it with any really poetical thoughts of which they are capable. Falconer's "Shipwreck" is an example of this kind of poem in English, and De Thou's on the training and care of falcons in Latin.

Some men, no doubt, wrote in Latin verse on special subjects for the linguistic exercise, or because they admired the Georgies, and would imitate them; as, for example, Passeratinus in his garden poems, and Philips on "Cider."

A fourth kind use verse to aid the memory. Sometimes it is the memory of ideas, as in the poems of the Sedulius mentioned by Bede, and once supposed to be Sedulius the Scot.¹ He wished to fix in the minds of his ecclesiastical readers the incidents of the scriptures and the way they might be used in teaching. Thus, the lines on Lot's wife recall the incident of her petrifaction, and supply a theologian meditating on it with a general application and an easily understood comparison—

"Loth Sodomae fugiente chaos, dum respicit uxor
In statuam mutata salis, stupefacta remansit,
Ad poenam conversa suam; quia nemo retrorsum
Noxia contempti vitans discrimina mundi,
Respiciens salvandus erit, nec debet arator
Dignum opus exercens, vultum in sua terga referre."

Another variety of verse-writers desired to fix in the memory useful statements of fact, and of these the "Regimen Sanitatis Salerni" is a conspicuous example.

A medical poem will not seem unfamiliar to you. Scotland has several medical poets. Dr. Armstrong, the most famous, wrote in English on the art of preserving health. Dr. Arthur Jonston wrote a poem on an anatomical lecture at Padua, and Robert Ayton one on Raphael Thorius, the physician, who died of the plague in London in 1622. Scotland's chief Latin medical poet is certainly David Kynaloch, born in 1560, whose poems, in two books, on the development, anatomy, and internal diseases of man,² were printed at

¹ *Coelii Sedulii Scotti Poemata Sacra*, Edinburgh, 1701. It is now generally received that these poems were not written by Sedulius the Irishman, but by the Sedulius mentioned by St. Isidore of Seville.

² *De hominis procreatione anatomie ac morbis internis.*

Paris in 1596. As his poem has never been reprinted since the publication of the *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum* by Arthur Jonston in 1637, and as he does not seem to have received his due measure of fame, and as we are considering a metrical work on medicine, it may not be improper to say something of Kynaloch.

That he practised his profession in France seems certain from the commendatory verses prefixed to his poems, one by a French royal physician, two others by French doctors of medicine, and the others by senators of the supreme court of Brittany, by Sir Louis d'Epinay, Marquis of Vaucouleur, and other Frenchmen. That he was a loyal subject of James VI is shown by the lines in his first book, in which he apostrophises that monarch—

“Tuque adeo Arctois qui sydere clarius omni
Præluces virtute tua regionibus, aureum
Sexte jubar mundi, cuius generosa tumultus
Invictæ toties sedarunt pectora gentis
Scotorum,”

and that he was proud of his native country and of the achievements of his countrymen in arms and in literature is shown by his declaration that no other race could equal them in spirit or in battle, and that the ancient Romans, when they had subjugated most of the world, were routed in Scotland.¹

Kynaloch had worked at morbid anatomy and had sought out in autopsies the explanation of obscure diseases

“quæ sola cadavera sæpe fideli
Artificis scrutanda manu, resecandaque monstrant.”

He was accustomed to clinical observation, and examined the hepatic region with his hand, for in the part on diseases of the liver he says,

“Pars cætera durum
Producit scirrhum qui sæpe prementibus extra
Obsistit digitis.”

He perhaps practised in Brittany, as he begins his second book by an epigram addressed “Ad amplissimum Galliæ Armoricæ senatum” (To the Parliament of Brittany).

¹ “Cui nulla animis æquanda nec armis
Altera, quam toties Romana potentia, totum
Imperio et duris premeret dum legibus orbem,
Subdere nixa, gravi semper subversa ruina
Corruit.”

I have been able to discover little more of his life¹ than is shown by these few passages in his works, and so learned an author and fellow-countryman as Dr. James Douglas does not even mention him in the *Bibliographiae Anatomicæ Specimen*,² a work which generally supplies to the enquirer what he seeks in it.

The second book of the poem is the more interesting, and gives in its eleven chapters a summary of the knowledge of its time in anatomy and morbid anatomy.

The chapter on the chest and the parts therein contained and their diseases shows the narrow extent of knowledge of the heart then prevailing, and the entire absence of knowledge of its diseases.

“Sistitur in mediis cor, acuta cuspide lœvum
 Ad latus oblique tendens, pericardion extra
 Investit, tepidoque rigans contemporat imbre
 Fervidulum: geminæ cavitates: dextera venam
 Acceptatque cavam, ramumque in utrumque refundit
 Pulmonis latus insignem, quo sanguine totum
 Nutriat: e lœva duplex arteria prodit:
 Altera pulmoni sanguen vitale ministrat
 Multiplici teneram percurrens germine carnem,
 Altera, quæ princeps medicis et magna vocatur,
 Promit et educit vitam cum sanguine, totum
 Humanæ molis radiis vitalibus orbem
 Illustrans.”

The heart has two cavities (the auricles were not then regarded as cavities of the heart itself): the right receives the vena cava and by large branches to each lung nourishes it. From the left side of the heart two arteries are given off, one to the lung, while the other carries the vital spirit with the blood illuminating the whole world of the human frame with vital rays.

How remote from fact is the account! Thirty-two years later Harvey's book made the true structure of the heart and the true function of its several parts clear to every student.

It now seems to us difficult to believe that the old view could have had any adherents, difficult to understand how men could have failed to see what was so plain before them. It is a fine remark of Bichat that nothing is so plain as the

¹ James VI created his estate of Aberlothrie, with other lands, a barony in a charter granted in 1616 to Dr. David Kinloch, as I have learned from Dr. Steele, of Florence.

² London, 1715.

discovery of yesterday, nothing so difficult as the discovery of to-morrow.

Kynaloch has not one line on the diseases of the heart. None were known in his time, and it is a remarkable example of the often slow effect of a great discovery that few traces are to be found of acquaintance with those diseases, the perception of which would seem a natural consequence of the knowledge of the apparatus and course of the circulation, till a century after Harvey's demonstration. In the writings of Mead, and even in Van Swieten's edition and commentary on the Aphorisms of Boerhaave, published in 1764, there is scarcely any information on diseases of the heart.

The chapters of Kynaloch's book on internal diseases treat respectively of the brain, the eye, the ear, the nose and palate, the mouth, tongue and fauces, the thorax and its contents, the alimentary canal, the liver and spleen, the kidneys, and the generative system in each sex. After describing the brain and nerves, he mentions many nervous diseases and nervous symptoms—headache, hemicrania, scotomia, incubus, epilepsy, spasm, opisthotonus, tetanus, trismus, apoplexy, paralysis, lethargy and disorders of the mind, and this is the longest of his chapters. They leave the reader impressed by his powers of expression, his somewhat dogmatic method of statement, and his acquaintance with the knowledge of his time in medicine.

But I have only mentioned David Kynaloch to remind you that medicine in Latin verse is part of your literary inheritance in Scotland, and I must return to the Schola Salernitana.

So far as it is a poem, it belongs, as I have already mentioned, to the last, and from the poetic point of view, the lowest variety of writing on physical subjects in verse: that variety in which the writers desired to fix in the memory for practical use various statements of fact.

The Schola Salernitana varies in its manuscript copies. One early recension contains 500 lines. De Renzi collected 3,526 lines which he believed to belong to it, and there are codices and printed editions with intermediate numbers of lines. I shall have to refer to these variations later, and for the purpose of setting before you a general notion of its contents I shall take the printed edition of Dr. Zacharias Sylvius of Rotterdam, of 1667, which contains 372 lines.

A dedication to a king of England begins the work, and is succeeded by verses under somewhat more than a hundred headings. Of these sections—three are on general rules of life, such as to wash the hands with cold water on rising,

to avoid mid-day sleep, and abdominal distension and heavy supper.

Thirty-four sections are on diet, and various kinds of food, beginning with the sensible recommendation,

“Never eat unless the stomach is empty.”

The sick are to avoid certain foods,

“Persica poma pyra et lac, caseus et caro salsa
Et caro cervina et leporina, bovina, caprina:
Atra haec bile nocent, suntque infirmis inimica,”

such as peaches, apples, pears, and milk, cheese, and salt meat, venison, hare, beef, and goat. You will remember that some of the chroniclers attribute the death of King John to a meal of peaches and ale: an example of the prevalence of the prejudice shown in these verses.

Certain other articles of food are commended—

“Ova recentia, vina rubentia, pinguia jura,
Cum simila pura, naturæ sunt valitura.”

New-laid eggs, red wine, and rich broth are good food. Bread and cheese are recommended—

“Caseus et panis sunt optima fercula sanis.
Si non sunt sani, tunc hunc ne jungito pani.”

Nine sections are on wines and beer and drinking. The remedies for poison—

“Allia, ruta, pyra et raphanus cum Theriaca nux,
Praestant antidotum contra lethale venenum.”

Leeks, rue, pears, and radishes and the theriac nut do not seem efficacious, but it must be remembered that the middle ages knew little of poisons, and that the deaths mentioned in the chronicles as due to poison are for the most part natural.

The number of diseases mentioned is small: two sections on affections of the eyes, two on the ears, toothache, sea-sickness, hoarseness, headache, colds, and fistula make up the list.

Twenty-one sections on bleeding show how important a therapeutic agent venesection was considered to be.

There are sections on the seasons, the humours of the body, and on the four temperaments, and on the importance of pure air.

The rest of the verses are on herbs. I have already quoted the enthusiastic lines on sage. Anise is commended,

“Emendat visum, stomachum confortat Anisum
Copia dulcoris, Anisa sit melioris.”

It clears the sight and comforts the stomach. Mint is recommended as a vermifuge,

“Mentitur mentha, si sit depellere lenta,
Ventrism lumbricos, stomachi vermesque nocivos.”

Violet, which in our time has been praised as a remedy for cancer, has had, and lost, at least one other therapeutic reputation since the time of the *Schola Salernitana*: it was a remedy for drunkenness, headache, and oppression of spirits, and for epilepsy.

“Crapula discutitur, capitum dolor, atque gravedo
Purpuream Violam dicunt curare caducos.”

The reputation of drugs has often rested on no more secure foundation than that improvement of the patient's state has been now and then observed to follow their administration.

The nettle has long lost its mediæval reputation in rheumatism—

“Frigus pulmonis pellit, ventrisque tumorem
Omnibus et morbis ea subvenit articulorum.”

Mustard cleared the head and was one of the remedies for poison:

“Est modicum granum, siccum calidumque sinapi
Dat lachrymas, purgatque caput, tollitque venenum.”

The use of colehicum in gout seems indicated by the lines

“Confortare crocum dixerunt exhilarando,
Artus defectos reficitque, hepar reparatque.”

The last lines of this edition are on bleeding—when it should take place, in what part of the body, and for what affections. The answers may be summed up as: nearly always, nearly everywhere, and for nearly everything.

Such is this curious medical poem, once popular in many countries of Europe.

Several English versions of it exist of the whole or of parts.

I have quoted from one that was printed in London in 1607,¹ under the title of *The Englishman's Doctor, or the Schoole of Salerne*. The translator, whose name does not appear, sums up the contents of the book very well in the following lines:—

¹ For J. Holme and T. Busby.

“ Wit, Learning, Order, Elegance of Phrase,
 Health, and the Art to lengthen out our dayes,
 Phylosophy, Physicke, and Poesie,
 And that skill which death louses not (surgery),
 Walkes to refresh us, Ayres most sweet and cleare,
 A thrifty table, and the wholesomest cheare,
 All sortes of graine, all sortes of Flesh, of Fish,
 Of Fowle and (last of all) of Fruits a severall dish :
 Good Breakefasts, Dinners, Suppers, after-meales,
 The hearbe for Sallads, & the hearbe that heales.
 Physitian’s counsell, Pottecaries pills,
 (Without the summing up of costly bils)
 Wines that the Braine shall nere intoxicate,
 Strong Ale and Beere at a more easie rate
 Than Water from a fountaine, cloths (not deere)
 For the foure seuerall quarter of the yere.
 Meats both for Protestant and Puritan,
 With means sufficient to maintaine a man.
 If all these things thou want’st, no farther looke,
 All this, & more than this, lies in the booke.”

Philemon Holland, of Trinity College, Cambridge, a laborious man of letters throughout his long life (1552-1637), besides translating Livy and Pliny and Suetonius, Plutarch and Xenophon, translated the *Schola Salernitana* into English verse. He died in 1637, and the book was published in Grub Street in 1649, with a dedication by Holland’s son to Sir Simonds D’Ewes. Philemon Holland, who had taken a medical degree, seems to have cared for the book, for his son says—“And in those very verses (as I have heard my said venerable Father eft-soons say) is couched the whole body of *Physick ad valetudinem conservandam*.”

The verse is seldom better than the kind which we associate with its place of publication. One example may be enough—the rendering of the curious lines—

“ Singula post ova pocula sume nova
 Post pisces nux sit, post carnes caseus adsit
 Unica nux prodest, nocet altera, tertia mor est.”

“ A new laid Egge craves a good cup of wine
 Drunk after it, it will the blood refine.
 Nuts after fish, cheese after flesh is best,
 In both these, they are helpfull to digest,
 One nut doth well, the second doth offend,
 Beware the third, it brings a deadly end.

William Withye also made a translation into verse in 1575, the rhythm of which often recalls that of Thomas Tusser, in

the Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry. Withye thus renders the lines on pepper—

“ Black pepper dispatcheth, yt tarrieth not,
It quicklye dissolveth, because it is hotte,
Yt purgeth flume, it helpes to digest,
White pepper is good for pains of the brest.
By this kinde pepper the stomache will gaine
Grete ease, and yt suffers no coughe to remaine,
The fever approchinge this pepper will fryghte
Also the shakinge yt abandoneth quyghte.”

There are several printed German, French, and Italian translations, and the dates of these and of the Latin and English versions show that the book was much read throughout Western Europe up to the end of the seventeenth century.

After that time, though at least six reprints of the edition of Zacharius Sylvius were issued, the interest in the work gradually became archaeological. Books on practical subjects are like languages—in one age living, in another dead. Their period of life varies. Thus the *Liber Etymologiarum* of Isidore of Seville, which includes a book on medicine, was taken down from the shelves of the very numerous monastic libraries which possessed a copy from the seventh century to the thirteenth. Some of the two hundred and twenty-six works of Muhammad Ibn Zakariya el Râzi, in the West commonly called Rhazes, were read for practical purposes from the eighth century to the seventeenth.

I have never seen a Spanish edition of the *Schola Salernitana*, and that it was not as well known in Spain as in England, France, Italy, or Germany is suggested by the absence among the numerous saws and proverbs of Sancho Panza or the wise remarks of Don Quixote of anything which shows an acquaintance with the Salernitan verses.

Among the Welsh medical maxims of the physicians of Myddfai, said to date from the thirteenth century, there are none which seem translations from the *Schola*.

There are Gaelic versions of some of the verses.

Thus the beginning of the poem, omitting the first line, occurs in a manuscript of 1563, which is in the British Museum (Additional, 15,582), and which was written in Ireland by David and Cairbre O'Cearnaigh for John MacBeatha or Beton of the famous medical family of the Isle of Mull and other parts of the Highlands. One of them, David Beton, became physician to King Charles I, and was admitted a Fellow of the College of Physicians of London, 25th June, 1629, and died in 1639. Arthur Jonston, also

a Scottish physician, wrote a short poem on an accident to a Dr. Beton, probably this one, containing a common sarcasm about the regular practice of physic—

“De Betonio Medico.

“Betonio nuper conspecto, portitor Orci
Substitut and medio mersit in amne vatem.
Flensque, lucri nobis, inquit, spes omnis adempta est,
Per Stygias post hac nemo vehetur aquas.
Quin vereor, si vita hominum revocabilis arte est,
Ne redeant, Ditis regia quotquot habet.”

The O'Cearnaighs' rendering of the first verses of the Schola is—

“Madh ail beith follam agus madh ail slán do denumh dit
Tog uait na h-irsniamh tréna agus creid corob dimain duit fearg
do denum
Agus coigil an fín agus scrain codladh an meadhon la,”

and the couplet on “supper” is—

“Is Moran pian do goile supair na hoidhche
Ma hail leat bidh edrum: biot do shuipear co gearr.”

Another manuscript (Arundel 333), written in 1514 and 1519, in the south of Ireland, contains a translation of the lines on the four complexions of humours which occur in certain texts of the Schola. The translations are into prose.

“Largus amans ilaris ridns [sic] rubique coloris.

“Cantans carnosus satis audax atque benignus

fer fola deirge .i. is amlaidh atá fer fola deirge taburtach grádmar subach gáirithech maille dath NDERG ceolmar feolmar .i. glic cain-barrach.”

“Arstutus [sic] gracilis siccus croceiqe coloris.

“Irsutus fallax irraciens [sic] prodigus audax

fer lenna ruaid [.i.] ard cael tirim maille dath buighe finnfach fallsa fergach nemdigbálach dána.”

“Hic sompnolentus piger in sputamine multus.

“Ebes huic sensus pingis facies color albus

fer lenna fuairi. codlatach leasg maille seileagur mórmaelinntinnech méith maille dath geal ar [a] aigidh.”

“Invidus et tristis cupitus dextreque tenasis

non expers fraudis temidis luteique coloris

fer lenna duib .i. formuidech dobbrónach miangusach maille láim deis connmálaig ní haen reann ceilgi bíis ann oeus bíth sé eaglach maille dath na criadh ar a chorp.”¹

¹ First printed by S. H. O'Grady in the Catalogue of the Irish MSS. in the British Museum. His interpretation of the contractions of this peculiarly difficult MS. is a wonderful example of Gaelic scholarship.

These fragments show that both the simpler and the more elaborate form of the text were known in those remote parts of the Western world where Gaelic was the language of literature.

At the beginning of this manuscript, at the top of the page, is written in a hand of the sixteenth century a curiously false account of its contents—"Historia de terra Pictica in lingua Pictica conscripta," with the name of the owner of that time at the foot of the page—"Wm. Howard, 1596," and a price; and there is a continuation and elaboration of the statement, page 16. The price is noted, but is almost illegible. It could hardly have been too high had this manuscript, which is wholly medical and philosophical, been a history of Pietland written in Pictish. How many obscurities of Scottish history might it not have made clear?

I wonder if the man who, in Queen Elizabeth's time, sold it to the English antiquary gravely pretended to read bits of history to him out of this collection of passages from such writers as Gaddesden, Philaretus, Isaac, Isidore, Galen, Averrhœs, Burley, and Albertus Magnus.

It is not improbable that a complete Gaelic version may some time be discovered. The mention of that literature reminds me of a well-known passage in the *Leabhar Breac*, a fourteenth century MS., on the requirements of literary composition—

"Cethardai condagar da cech elathain, locc agus aimser agus persa agus fáth airicc."

(Four things are proper to every composition—Place, time, author, and cause.)

Let us consider these in relation to the *Schola Salernitana*.

The place of its composition is invariably stated to be Salernum, a seat of medical study already known to the learned in Normandy and in England in the twelfth century. Ordericus Vitalis, an Englishman by birth, who spent his life in the Norman monastery of St. ~~Genulf~~, speaks of the city of Salernum "where from long past times very great schools of medicine have been held," and Alexander Neckham, the foster-brother of Richard Coeur de Lion, says in his book *De Naturis Rerum*, "What shall I say of Salernum and Montpelier, in which the assiduous skill of physicians working for the public good has collected for the whole world a remedy against physical diseases?"

All the manuscripts begin with a passage which attributes

the composition of the book to the School of Salernum. The first lines are—

“Anglorum regi scripsit schola tota Salerni
 Si vis incolumen si vis te reddere sanum
 Curas linque graves irasci crede prophanum
 Parce mero cenato parum non sit tibi vanum
 Surgere post epulas sompnum fuge meridianum
 Non mictum retine nec comprime fortiter anum
 Hec bene seruando vitam longam tibi mando.”

The last of these lines is often

“Hec bene si serues tu longo tempore vives.”

To avoid care and anger, to drink little wine, to take a light supper, not to sit long at table, not to sleep in broad daylight. What better advice can be given at this day?

This is, of course, not sufficient evidence that the book was produced at Salernum, since in the Middle Ages, as in earlier times fictitious authors and places were attributed to books. The library of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, for example, contained a treatise, *De Ornatu Mulierum*, said to be written by Cleopatra (M. R. James, catalogue). Galen, in his commentary on “Hippocrates on the Nature of Man,” says, in a passage translated by Bentley in the course of his discussion of this question in the Dissertation upon Phalaris,

“When the Atali & the Ptolemees were in emulation about their Libraries, the Knavery of forging Bookes & Titles began. For there were those, that to enhance the price of their Bookes, put the Names of great Authors before them, and so sold them to those Princes.”

What was the complete original text of the *Schola Salernitana* we do not know, but taking that of which there are several manuscripts (though I have seen none earlier than the end of the fourteenth century), as representing the original text, the poem began—

“Anglorum regi scripsit schola tota Salerni,”

and ended with a line beginning—

“Ista super renes.”

The verses are sufficiently in accord with the books written and the books read at Salernum to make it reasonable to accept that school as the place of origin of the book.

When it first appeared there has not been determined, and would require a study of all the manuscripts, and particularly of those which may be in Italian libraries.

The date of its first composition or collection is also unknown, but may perhaps be the twelfth century.

Ægidius Corboliensis was physician to Philip Augustus (1180-1223), so that he flourished at the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries. He received instruction in medicine at Salernum and speaks of his *Alma Mater* with due respect.

“terra Salerni,
Urbs Phœbo sacrate, Minervæ sedula nutrix,
Fons physicæ, pugil eucrasiae, cultrix medicinæ.”

In his *Carmina Medica* occur the words—

“Quorum facunda Salerni
Pagina describit,”

which Sir Alexander Croke¹ thought to refer to the Schola Salernitana, but since the lines are on drugs it might be maintained that they allude to the antidotarium of Nicholas or some other Salernitan work on *materia medica*. Two other lines, attacking the school of Montpellier,

“Quos gula, quos stimulat et cogit avara dolosi
Ambitio nummi carmen ructare Salernum,”

seem to refer more distinctly to a definite book in verse, and may perhaps be taken as mentioning the Schola Salernitana.

Some expressions in Ægidius resemble those of the Schola, but such resemblances are common in mediaeval books, and in most cases only prove that two writers have been derived from a common source.

Parts of the Schola, of Ægidius, and of the lines on herbs in another poem of the same age, Neckham's “De laudibus divinæ sapientiæ,” are derived from the more ancient Aemilius Macer “De herbarum virtutibus.”

In Macer's verses on the nettle, for example, occurs the line—

“Omnibus et morbis sic subvenit articulorum,”

which is taken without alteration into the Schola. The lines in the Schola on onions are a rearrangement of seven unaltered lines of Macer. The two lines on the violet are the ninth and twelfth of Macer's poem, and of the three lines on hyssop the last is Macer's, while the other two and the lines on mint are based on his information.

¹ In his edition of the Schola (1831) Croke's whole introduction is little more than a translation of that of Dr. Renatus Moreau of 1625.

It would, I think, be possible to trace many of the verses on food to some earlier book, but I have perhaps said enough to show that the Schola is a compilation or collection, and not the work of a single mind.

The book is attributed in some manuscripts to a John of Milan. Thus, at the end of the manuscript known in the British Museum as Sloane 3,468 is written—"Explicit tractatus qui dicitur flos medicine compilatus a magistro Johanne de Mediolano in studio Salerni. Amen."

A manuscript (No. 177) in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, written in the reign of Richard II, does not mention John of Milan.

Another manuscript (Sloane 343) in the British Museum ends with the verses—

"Hoc opus optatur quod flos medicine vocatur
Et sic est finis laus deo gloria trinis
A° 1406, 16 Mai.
Explicit flos medicine magistri Arnoldi de Villa nova,"

and it is headed—"Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum Magistri Arnoldi de Villa nova."

Arnold was certainly only a commentator who wrote at the beginning of the fourteenth century, yet the beautiful black-letter printed edition published by Peter de Dru at Paris, 21st November, 1505, has as its first words—"Regimen sanitatis a magistro Arnoldo de noua villa cathalano et aliis doctoribus salerniensibus ordinatum feliciter incipit."

These variations of attribution show that the author was unknown.

The book became in later times, and especially after the invention of printing, a popular work, but in the thirteenth century it was perhaps used by students at Salernum to keep their memories refreshed on useful points, and certainly by those numerous practitioners in physic who were to be found in all monasteries, and who gave their brethren and the poor of the neighbourhood such advice and treatment as they were capable of.

There has been much discussion as to which king of England is intended by the "Anglorum regi" of the first line. Who he was was unknown in England, for no suggestion or gloss occurs in the manuscripts.

Some manuscripts (Brit. Mus. Sloane 351 and 3,229, and Additional 12,190, and the Bodleian 3,544 and 7,789) begin—

"Francorum regi scribit scola tota Salerni,"

and explain that Charlemagne is the king. This is, of course, a medical fable about him, of no more veracity than the story that the golden balls on the shield of the Medicis are in reality neither bezants nor pills, but cupping cucurbitulæ given them because their ancestor cured Charlemagne of severe pain in the loins by such an application. The manuscripts which begin thus are much longer, and go into subjects unmentioned in those which begin, “*Anglorum regi.*”

Thus, the place of the book may be conjectured to be Salernum, and the time the end of the twelfth century, while the author is unknown. The original object was to supply maxims for use in practice.

When was the book first used in England?

The manuscripts in the British Museum and at Cambridge and Oxford must first be looked at in order to answer this question. The British Museum contains sixteen manuscripts; the library of Corpus Christi College at Cambridge, two; and the Bodleian, seven, or perhaps more.

The British Museum manuscripts are of various degrees of interest. Ten belong to the original collection of Sir Hans Sloane, who bought many of the papers and books of the learned physicians who died in his time; two manuscripts come from the collection of Harley, Earl of Oxford, who bought all the fragments or complete volumes of manuscripts from monastic libraries, besides many other manuscripts, in the first half of the eighteenth century; two belong to the Royal collection, and two to the long series known under the title of “Additional.” Of those in the Sloane collection, three belonged to the library of Dr. Francis Bernard. He was a physician of great learning, who had a fine library, in the contents of which he was well read. The catalogue of his books shows how wide were his interests. His father had suffered in the Royal cause, and on the recommendation of Charles II he was elected Apothecary to St. Bartholomew’s Hospital.¹ He did not leave his post in the terrible year of plague, 1665. Later in life he became a physician, was elected a Fellow of the College, and held (1678-1698) the offices of Assistant Physician and Physician to St. Bartholomew’s Hospital. The manuscripts which belonged to Francis Bernard are numbered in the Sloane collection 345, 351, 374, and it is possible that 337 and 3,468 also belonged to him. Sloane 1,058 is the shelf catalogue of his library, and seems to show that he had not in all his fine collection a single edition of Shakespeare.

¹ Sloane 856 contains a copy of the Royal letter.

Sloane 345 is of the version beginning "Anglorum regi." It is headed *Regimen Sanitatis Salernitatum Magistri Arnaldi de Villanova*. It contains about 308 lines, and seems to have been written in Germany. At the end of the Schola on f. 14 is the date, 16th May, 1406.

Sloane 351 begins "Francorum regi," the address ending with the words, "A me tot mille verba salutis habe." This is followed by an account of the *Res Naturales*. The whole MS. is of vellum, and the Schola Salernitana begins on f. 42 and extends to f. 92, containing about 1,400 lines. A tract called "Experimenta Alberti" precedes the Schola, and it is followed by the surgical treatise known as "Compendium Magistri Ricardi." The following note occurs at the end of the verses:—"Tempore quo idem rex sarasenos devicitur in roncivalle quod latuit usque tarde et deo volente nuper prodiit in lucem." This is a fifteenth century MS.

Sloane 374 is a paper MS., beginning "Anglorum regi," containing about 270 lines, and ending imperfectly with the words, "dum carui carwey non sine febri fui." It is worthy of note, as showing what real uncertainty prevailed about the authorship of many of the lines of the Schola, that this line is attributed to Avicenna, in a Gaelic MS. on *Materia Medica* in the British Museum (Additional 15,403), where it occurs in the form, "Cum caravi carui nunccam sine febro fui." The MS. is of the fifteenth century. I shall never forget the line, because it was the subject of the last of many delightful conversations with the learned, social, and always interesting Professor Robertson Smith. It was ten days before his death, and he was lying ill in bed in Christ's College, Cambridge. He made me fetch several Arabic books and dictionaries from the adjoining room, and conversed eagerly upon the names of Carraway in the East, and passages in literature where it was mentioned.

Sloane 382, which has Bernard's name written in it, is a MS. of the fifteenth century, of paper and vellum, contains about 230 lines, beginning with "Anglorum regi," and ends with verses on crocus, ginger, cloves, and onion.

Sloane 337 is addressed to the King of England, and is of the fifteenth century. It differs in some respects from the commonest series of verses.

Sloane 3,229 is a MS. from the collection of Sir John Hoby. It is addressed to the King of the Franks, and has a somewhat longer note than Sloane 351 about Roncevalles. It begins with the words in Latin. "Here begin the medical verses put together by the Salernitan masters and doctors in

Apulia, written for Charles the Great, the most glorious (King) of the Franks, whose little work is divided into five parts, of which the first is about the naturals of man, the second about his non-naturals, the third of things opposed to the nature of man, the fourth of simple medicines, the fifth of the cure of diseases." It ends, "Explicit quinta pars versuum Salernitanorum." The MS. is of the fifteenth century.

Sloane 1,986 is a beautiful MS. of the reign of King Henry VI, as is shown by a chronicle in the same hand at the end, which ends as follows:—

"Then was^t Henry his son threequarters old
After him reigned his son full ryght
The sixth Henry that young knight
The Duke of Bedeforde with goode intent
Whas his unkel and of Fraunce regent
The Duke of Gloster his unkel also
Of Englande whas protector tho
Yn his regne the VIII yere
He whas crownyd at Westmynster
And in the tenth yere by the by
At Paryse he whas crownyd truly
In ye XI yere Harflet the Fren sche men
Gate hit and in the XIX of his regne the
Hart was goo throw Englishemen
The Duke of Orliaunce whas prisoned then
After delyured and went home and swor here and there
He schulde ayenste Englondne vens army were
And in the reyne of the XIX yere veramint
Ye Duke of York was made Franc regent."

Sloane 3,468 is of perhaps the end of the fourteenth century. It begins "Anglorum regi," ends "hec super renes pecten pone fit juvamem," and contains 548 lines.

Sloane 1,965 is a late and unimportant paper MS. in folio.
Harley 3,407 and 3,706 are late paper MSS.

The two royal MSS., 12 E. VII and 12 B. XXIV, belonged to the collection of Charles Thayer. The former is a paper MS. beginning "Anglorum regi," the latter is the finest MS. of the Schola in the Museum, and is written straight on, the headings being placed in the margin. Preceding the verses is an alphabetical table of contents. It ends with the line, "Hec super renes." The same volume contains a copy of Macer De viribus herbarum, and at the end of the whole MS. the scribe has written, "Laudes Christe Jeso tibi. Nam jam fine quiesco." The MS. is probably of the fourteenth century.

At the foot of the first page is a finely executed capital R, which looks like the pressmark of some monastic library.

Additional 12,190 is addressed to the King of the Franks, contains 1,780 lines and ends, "Explicit Florarium versuum Medecinalium." It is a somewhat different text from any of the others, though containing most of the verses of the Charlemagne MSS.

Additional 18,752 is a late MS. addressed to the King of England.

The seven MSS. at Oxford are only known to me from the catalogue of the accurate Edward Bernard of 1697. Two of them appear to be of the Charlemagne form, of which No. 7,789 is of the year 1363. One other of the seven is in English. Thus, it will be seen that the examination of these twenty-five MSS. shows that the King of England form and the Charlemagne form are of equal age, as far as English MSS. can establish a date, but that the King of England form is the commoner, the less elaborate, and probably the more ancient.

The MS. at Corpus Christi College (177) belonged to Archbishop Parker. It contains an English chronicle which ends in the reign of Richard II, and the several treatises of which it is made up are in the handwriting of that reign. Several of them form a sort of reference library for preachers on temperance, such as a Dialogue between Wine and Water, between the World and Religion, between the Body and the Soul, Seneca on Drunkenness, St. Ambrose on Honest Manners, St. Augustine on Drunkenness, a Letter of Cyril to Augustine, Peter of Blois on the Conversion of St. Paul, St. Augustine to Cyril on the Apparition of St. Jerome (of course a mediæval romance), with other works attributed to St. Augustine. The touching story of Petrarch on the history of Walter the Marquis and Griselda his wife enlivens this temperance literature, and the MS. also contains some of the writings of James de Casulis, a Dominican, a copy of Aesop's Fables, and two other medical treatises besides the *Regimen Sanitatis Salerni*. This begins on folio 265 B, column 1, after a book of Arnold de Villanova *De Comtesatione corporis humani et de regimine salutis*, with the words incipit flos medecine. The Flower of Medicine is a name often given to the *Schola Salernitana*, and may have suggested the titles of the *Lilium Medicinae* of Bernard of Gourdon, and the *Rosa Anglicæ* of John of Gaddesden, both works of the fourteenth century.

The Corpus MS. begins "Anglorum regi, scripsit tota Schola Salerni," and contains about 860 lines, ending with "Ista super

renes pecten pone fitque juvamen," followed by the words "Hoc opus optatur et flos medicine vocatur." The whole volume is one of those bibliothecæ so common in the middle ages, and is partly of paper, partly of vellum. There is also in the Corpus Library, No. 424, a fifteenth century manuscript of the same recension, entitled "Flos Medicine seu versus Salerni."

None of these manuscripts are earlier than the second half of the fourteenth century.

In the catalogues (M. R. James) of the libraries of Christ Church, Canterbury, St. Augustine's, Canterbury, and Dover Priory, only one entry is to be found which probably refers to the Schola. It is No. 1,613 in the fifteenth century catalogue of St Augustine's Abbey,

"Item liber de Regimine Sanitatis metrice compositus."

No copy is named among the books of Bury St. Edmunds (James).

A book whose phrases are so easy to remember might be expected to be used in quotations,

Alexander Neckham, whose poem, *De laudibus divinæ sapientiæ*, contains a great deal of the natural science of his time, was born in 1157 at St. Albans. He was educated at the school of that Abbey and in the University of Paris. He became Abbot of Cirencester in 1213, and died in 1217.

His poem was probably written in the reign of King John, and the sixth of its ten books treats of precious stones, herbs, and drugs. Thus he treats of the same subjects as the Schola, but shows no acquaintance with its verses.

The Schola says of coriander in one of its texts,

"Si tria grana voret coriandri seminis aeger
Evadet febrem cui dat lux tertia nomen,"

and Neckam,

"Et triduana febris eget auxilio coriandri,"

with three more lines on other virtues of the seeds.

Of hellebore the Schola says,

"Pultibus admixtus pulvis mures necat ejus
Et cum melle datus, est muscis perniciosus.
Hydropsin, tetanum, leprum fugat atque podagram."

It kills mice and flies. Dropsy, tetanus, leprosy, and gout are driven away by it.

Neckham says of it,

“Hellebori nigri minor est violentia, sed quid?
Quis nigrum dignum laudibus esse negat
Fistula, gutta, furor, paralyticus, hydropicususque
Atque podagra, citam postulat ejus opem.”

It is not so strong as white hellebore, but cures fistula, gout, madness, the palsied and dropsical, and gout in the foot.

These examples show that Neckham and the Schola belong to the same age and both owe much to Macer. It is clear that Neckham had not read the Schola, and had it been well known in his time in England he would certainly have read it, considering his tastes and the subjects on which he wished to write.

The first author in England in whose writings any acquaintance with the Schola Salernitana is observable is Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln from 1235 to 1253. He advised a Dominican whose health was bad to try sufficient food, proper sleep, and good humour, clearly having in his mind the Salernitan lines,

“Si tibi deficiant Medici; Medici tibi fiant
Haec tria; mens hilaris requies; moderata dieta.”

To another friar who inclined to be melancholy he advised a cup of good wine, insisting on its quality, recalling in his expressions the line,

“Gignit et humorer melius vinum meliores.”

In earlier works, such as Eadmer's Life of Anselm and the Life of St. Hugh of Lincoln, though both biographers dwell upon the care and kindness of their subjects towards patients, no words pointing to an acquaintance with the Schola Salernitana are to be found. It is evidence that the book was not much known in England in the reign of Henry III, that Matthew Paris, so fond of poetical quotation, and so ready to bring out all that he had heard about everything, does not quote any line of the Schola Salernitana. Had its maxims already become part of the daily remarks of the attendants in the Infirmary of St. Albans some fragment of them would surely have found its way into the *Chronica Major* or the *Gesta Pontificum*.

On these grounds we may conclude that the Schola Salernitana first became known in England in the middle of the reign of Henry III.

A version beginning with the line to the King of England,

and containing perhaps three hundred lines, is likely to have been the first introduced from abroad.

There was at that time a bookshop on Ludgate Hill, on the left hand side as you ascend it, and just below the church of St. Martin. Just above the church was the gate of the city, known as Ludgate.

The existence of this bookshop is proved by a Latin charter, of which the original is still extant, and of which the date is known from its attestation by Ralph Eswy, the mayor; Adam of Basing and Hugh Blund, the sheriffs of the year 1243. The words of the charter are—

“ To all the faithful of Christ to whom the present writing may come. Thomas the chaplain, rector of the church of St. Mary Sumerset, Thomas the chaplain vicar of the church of St. Nicholas Olaph, David the chaplain then holding office in the church of St. Martin of Luthgate executors of the will of Michael the cleric seller of books, health in the Lord. Be it known to you all that we have sold to John le Fraunceys goldsmith all that tenement with all its appurtenances which belonged to the aforesaid Michael below Luthgate next the church of St. Martin. To have and to hold by the aforesaid John and his heirs or assigns freely quietly hereditarily well and in peace for ever. Returning thence annually the due service to the Lord of the fee which is contained in the principal charter of that tenement which the aforesaid deceased Michael had thence and which to the said John with plenary seisin we have liberated. For this our final sale moreover the aforesaid John paid to us ten marks of silver of which we gave five marks to William son of the aforesaid Michael according to the will and disposition of Michael himself in his will. The other five marks we paid to the debts of the said Michael and so have fulfilled his will. And that this our final sale shall remain fixed for ever Dominus Peter of Neuport then Archdeacon of London at our instance and of the other just men present placed his seal together with our seals to this present writing. These being witnesses:—Sir Ralph Eswy then mayor of London, Adam of Basing and Hugh Blund then sheriffs: Laurence of Frowyk then alderman of that ward: Henry son of William: Geoffrey peyure: John calicer: Alexander marescall: Ralph: Thomas calicer: Robert plumber: Peter plumber: Hamo the bedell: Alexander and others.”

Important transfers of land in London at that time were usually, as this one is, witnessed first by the mayor and sheriffs, and then by the alderman of the ward. At the end of the list of witnesses came the bedell or serjeant (*seruiens*) of the ward, and very often the actual scribe of the charter. Alexander, who is the last witness of this charter, was its writer, and at St. Paul's and elsewhere many examples of his

beautiful penmanship are to be found. Four seals were appended to this charter, of which those of the archdeacon of London and of the rector of St. Mary, Somerset, have disappeared. The seal of the vicar of St. Nicholas Olaph bears an impression of a man's head, a classical intaglio. Such works of art were frequently used in the seals of that time. A few years ago, when a bank in St. Paul's Churchyard was being built, a gold ring, with a red gem, bearing a figure of Jupiter and a Gnostic motto in four letters, was found lying with some human bones, the remains of a burial in the old church of St. Gregory by St. Paul's. The fourth seal on the charter was that of David the chaplain, of St. Martin's, Ludgate, and bore a crescent and star.

The bookshop of Michael, the cleric, was on the pathway of the learned going to and from the Cathedral of St. Paul and the residences of the bishop, the dean and the canons, and the large society of secular clergy who lived in the precincts. Some of the men who lived near it, and perhaps looked in and turned over the books of Michael, the cleric, as they passed by, are easily ascertained from the chronicles and the documents of the period.

The bishop, the chief person in that part of London, lived on the north side of St. Paul's, where London House Yard marks the site of his palace. He was Roger Niger, a man of letters, and his great moral qualities caused him to be venerated during his life and after his death. One day when he was officiating at the altar in the cathedral a thunder-storm came on, with a deep gloom only broken by flashes of lightning. The thunder shook the building, and dust seemed to rise from the floor. Repeated peals terrified the congregation and they fled. Roger Niger went on unmoved with the service, and his intrepidity was long remembered in London. He gave many other proofs of it.

The dean lived on the south side of the churchyard, where the deanery still is. He was William de Sancta Maria Ecclesia, a village in Normandy, and was a man of some literary attainments.

One of the canons at that time was Master Reginald Besac, who had been to the East and knew at least the sound of Arabic. He was present when Saladin, exasperated by the abuse of a French lord who was brought a prisoner into his court, cut off his head with one blow of his sword. Matthew Paris, the historian, who knew this canon, may have looked into the shop and turned over Michael's books on one of his visits to St. Paul's.

St. Bartholomew's Hospital was outside the city wall, and its master, walking from Smithfield past Newgate along the Old Bailey, all of which streets then existed under their present names, to call upon the dean, must often have had the opportunity of entering the shop. He was a well-informed and travelled man, for he had been a pilgrimage to the Holy Land before he was elected master in 1223. His name was William.

One Scottish man lived in the neighbourhood, and his portrait is still to be seen on his seal, with a hood on his head and a staff in his hand. He had charge of the funds of the fabric of St. Paul's, where much building had been going on, for Roger Niger, the bishop, rebuilt the choir. He often went in and out of Ludgate, and up and down the hill past Michael's shop. In 1241 this Adam Scot gave to St. Paul's twelve shillings annual rent in the parish of St. Gregory,¹ and his obit was long commemorated there on the third of August. He had a daughter, Cecilia, who married Edward de Braye; and they had a son and heir named Stephen. These particulars, which I have ascertained from four original charters, of this old Scot living in London in the reign of Henry III, seemed likely to interest you here. Adam Scot must certainly often have seen the bookshop of Michael, the cleric, on Ludgate Hill.

Such was the bookshop, and such some of the men who may have been purchasers in it when the Schola Salernitana began to be known in England.

The book was easily read and easily remembered, and copies became more numerous in the next two centuries. The Schola Salernitana is quoted many times in the Rosa Anglica of John of Gaddesden, and in both the Breviarium and the Florarium of John Mirfeld, works of the middle and end of the fourteenth century. It was at the height of its fame in manuscript at the time of the invention of printing, and was first printed at Montpelier in 1480; and the numerous later editions and translations show that it had many readers, and was a favourite with the general public as well as among practisers of medicine.

The printed editions deserve consideration, but would take me beyond the subject which I have proposed for myself to-day, which was to show what was the period of prevalence

¹ Dugdale's St. Paul's mentions the gift. The charter itself is mentioned in Maxwell Lyte, IX, Report of Historical MSS. Commission, 12a, and another charter of his, 28b. Adam Scot appears in four charters (one of his own) which I have examined.

of the Schola Salernitana in the British Isles, and the time of its first introduction here.

Some members of our faculty think the history of medicine not worth study. They are inclined to dismiss it with some such remark as that of Thucydides, that neither in their actions nor in anything else were the men of past times great. Such a conclusion is to be regarded as merely the impatient remark of a man who grows oats, and therefore has no care for the cultivation of flax. Such men often come later to see that they were wrong. Thus Sir Michael Foster once at Cambridge made some depreciatory remarks on the study of the history of medicine, yet himself some years later made a valuable contribution to the subject in his lecture on Glisson. Medicine is a study and an art which has to do with every aspect of man, and the more we can learn of the operations of the human mind the more useful can we be to our patients. The physician, moreover, enlarges the usefulness of his own mind by the association of his observations and experiments with other kinds of academic work. Every subject, whether scientific or literary, gains in breadth by being examined in the past as well as in the present.

These are some of the reasons why it is worth while to study the history of medicine.

I thank you for having done me the honour to appoint me to give this lecture, and for having so patiently listened to it.



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